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beyond. Here many of the shepherds have no grazing rights and they must rent pasture sometimes at great cost from village communities or private individuals. Since the first world war the settlement of refugees and more intensive farming techniques have progressively reduced the area of grassland in the plains. Each year the search for winter grass by the Sarakatsani becomes wider and more desperate. But quite apart from the greater geographical dispersion of the community in winter, the problems of weather and lambing isolate the shepherds of each flock whose only concern during these months is the care of their animals. In summer, although the Sarakatsani are still dispersed over 390 square miles of mountainous country, there is time to visit kinsmen who live at a distance, weddings and festivals are celebrated, and in general there is a greater awareness of the community and its life. Winter in the plains is a kind of exile; the return in spring to the mountains of Zagori is the return home.

The pattern of social groupings in this community is extremely simple. The most restricted unit is the most important. This is the family, whether in its elementary or extended form. To this small group the individual owes almost exclusively his or her time, energy, and loyalties. However, the family group is normally unable to manage its flocks without some assistance from outside and, in these circumstances, two, three, or more families related by kinship or marriage, associate to form 'a company' (παρέα), or stani (στάνη)[10], which for functional reasons must include at least four adult males and generally numbers between 15 and 50 persons of all ages. But the duties which the individual assumes as a member of the 'company' are specific and have an obvious relation to the welfare of his family. The relationship between the constituent families of the group is contractual; any family may elect to leave the association whenever it wills, any family may be expelled by the decision of the other members. Apart from this participation in a group of co-operating and related families, the shepherd normally has no membership in other social groupings which might conflict with his exclusive duties to the family.

[10] I shall employ these terms interchangeably, generally using 'company' when the emphasis is on the relations of co-operation between the constituent families of the group, and 'stani' when the context refers to the undifferentiated group with its huts, flocks, and grazing land.

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sound of one another. And although the grazing areas high above the village are spatially more extensive than in winter, they are, however, overstocked. Shepherds have a common grazing boundary with the sheep of two or three other stanis on whose grass they systematically trespass. Between families unconnected by kinship or marriage, relations, acted out during these months in terms of reciprocal hostility and theft, are more intense than in winter. Summer, indeed, is the time for quarrels. It is also the season of festivals. It is true that, if the total community is less dispersed than in winter, this is a relative difference since it is still disposed over an area of some 390 square miles. But summer shepherding conditions allow shepherds the possibility of visiting kinsmen who live at a distance. At weddings and village festivals kinsmen are able to meet and exchange their news, and unrelated men have the opportunity to observe one another critically. In summer, generally, social exchanges whether friendly or hostile are both more frequent and more ardent.

Practical arrangements for the care of the flock have a further consequence. Personal and family honour and pride, which are fundamental values of the community, breed a spirit of intense and aggressive competitiveness that sometimes threatens even the relations of unmarried brothers, more commonly the co-operation between more distant kin in the same stani, and frequently provokes verbal or physical quarrels between shepherds unrelated by kinship or marriage. Yet the simple circumstance that within the one stani each shepherd is physically isolated, or with only a single companion, in the service of the different flocks which have been described, limits the potential moments of disharmony in the family and the stani. The animals allow their protectors no rest except when they sleep themselves; otherwise they must continually graze to remain alive and the shepherds must continually follow them because of the absence of fencing and the presence of wolves and sometimes of human thieves. Each shepherd is insulated, as it were, by his work. In the winter, moreover, the shepherds may be more or less isolated from contact with other unrelated shepherds since there is often no grazing boundary with another stani. In the summer, it is true, there may be common grazing boundaries with two or three different stanis across which shepherds face

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occupy, before marriage, a socially equivalent status, but become, after their marriages, the points of departure of distinct collateral lines of descent.

At the beginning of this chapter I described the multiform character of the family. It is a domestic group, an economic and property-owning unit, a quasi-political association, a religious communion, and so on. It is now evident that the elementary family group is the only stable solidary unit associated with the kindred and that while it enjoys important support from collateral kinsmen, it is also, in a sense, isolated from them. The immense importance, then, of this social group on the one hand, and its lack of continuity through time on the other, mean that the institutionalized arrangements for its establishment or dissolution, for the transference of categorical rights and obligations from an old family to a new, are of critical importance. Underlying the nature of these arrangements is the simple fact that each individual during some part of his lifetime is almost always the member of two families: one of origin, the other of marriage.[16] A man is a son and brother in one family, a father and husband in the other; a woman is a daughter and sister in the family of origin, a mother and wife in the family of marriage. It is obviously important that the rights and duties of these different roles, when played by the same individual, should not conflict. This is a problem for all systems of kinship, but it is especially acute in this community because all the individual's significant rights and obligations inhere in the family and in no other group. The individual passes from his first family to his second through marriage. In the case of the woman the solution of the problem of conflicting roles is radical; she leaves the home of her father, who ceases to have any rights over her except the residual right of resuming his power over her if she becomes a widow before the birth of children. The protection of her honour is no longer the concern of her brothers, and her working services now belong exclusively to the husband's family. When later she pays one of her rare visits to her original home, she may not spin even a handful of her mother's wool. The husband does not shed the categorical obligations of his roles as son

[16] An individual may have membership in a third family; for the grandparents, after the division of the joint household, normally live as members of the family of marriage of their youngest son.

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youth provide enough incidents to nourish any personal aversion which for one reason or another may have arisen between young cousins. And if brothers quarrel, this, of course, inevitably affects the relations of their children. But a marked coolness between cousins of this class is rare; the Neochori group of 317 Sarakatsani provides only one example.

Relations between men and women who are reciprocally mother's brother's children and father's sister's children are almost always close and affectionate. These cousins are the children of a sister and brother whose relationship before the sister's marriage was governed by categorical obligations which concerned the honour of the girl, her brother, and the whole family. For the sister who arrives at her wedding day with a reputation in the community for right conduct, a brother has feelings of deep gratitude and trust which he expresses in his constant anxious inquiries about her welfare from anyone he meets who lives near her husband's huts. He is always ready to help his brother-in-law, however little he may like him personally, in order to make life a little easier for his sister and her children. And since women spend much time discussing kinsmen and their affairs, the sister's children learn at an early age about their cousins who are the children of her brother. But the relations of these cousins are not only a question of sentiment and its extension. Marriage is a contract between two unrelated families; and despite mutual distrust both groups are interested to consolidate their alliance. In the early years the two families of origin of the married pair may find in it a useful addition to the range of their co-operative relationships. However, the true concern of the husband and his wife's brothers is that their children shall not lack the support of a strong and devoted kindred. Their children are reciprocally those cousins who normally live in different localities and do not co-operate in sheep management. Between them there ought to be the kind of trust and sympathy which lead to deep friendship, the exchange of free favours, and that measure of general moral support without which a man's reputation cannot survive for long among the Sarakatsani.

From time to time there are opportunities to strengthen the affective quality of these relations. For a number of years after her marriage a woman pays one or possibly two visits a year to

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605 her parents' home and takes her young children with her. These
574 visits which last for five or six days are eagerly looked forward
593 to by the children who find there new playfellows and grandparents, uncles, and aunts far more indulgent than those at their own home. The inevitable frictions and jealousies of communal life do not threaten the cross-cousin relationship in its formative period; on the contrary it grows in an atmosphere of gaiety, holiday, and permissiveness. It is, then, not surprising that in seven cases out of ten a man names a cousin of this category as
426 his most intimate and trusted friend. In later life these cousins are remarkably generous and trusting, and there is a noticeable tendency for cousins related in this way to give small money loans at moments of need or unexpected crisis.

In general, cousins who are related through their mothers' sisters are less likely to have known one another in childhood, and relations in adult life are usually based on the conventional
605 existence of cousinship. Married sisters do not pay one another
574 the kind of formal visit which lasts for a number of days unless
593 their husbands have developed common interests on the basis of their affinal connection. Relations will be more intimate where the two sisters have married men who live in the same summer or winter neighbourhood. The two women will make informal daily visits and their husbands will encourage the
582 children to form close friendships with their cousins. Sometimes a man arranges a marriage between his own cousin and his wife's sister. If the cousin is a father's brother's son, the two sisters may find themselves close neighbours and, perhaps, work-
605 ing in the same co-operating 'company'. Yet even where two
609 young men who are sisters' sons meet for the first time at a wedding or village festival they at once adopt the easy, friendly, and sympathetic attitude towards one another which is typical of the cousin relationship at all times, and equally foreign to the behaviour which must be adopted towards an unrelated person of the same sex and age, even where this unrelated person has been a close neighbour and has shared the same school desk.

591 The feature of cross-cousin or maternal parallel cousin relationships which distinguishes them from the ties between brothers' sons is that they generally involve physical separation, since sisters in a system of patrilocal marriage must leave the parental home. Men prefer to bring their brides from a distant

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a very intimate friendship with Theodoros' youngest brother; 612
and despite the fact that Pericles was idle, quarrelsome and 605
inefficient. Similarly, when a man visits another neighbourhood 474
he will always stay at the huts of his first cousin although, on 574
personal grounds, he might prefer to be entertained by a more
congenial but more distant kinsman.

These facts are easily understood. A collateral kinship bond is a relationship derived from a pair of siblings. It makes a sensible difference whether this derivation is at one or two removes. And this is so not only on grounds of sentiment but also in relation to the limits of the kindred. The children of first cousins are members of the kindred but the children of second cousins are not kinsmen. The first is a growing relationship, the second is not. A man who is 35 years old will generally know all his first cousins, but sometimes there may be a number of his second cousins whom he has not met personally, although he will always know something about their families and their affairs. Second cousins are on the margin of kinship, people who are nearly 'strangers'. They remain kinsmen who must be guarded and cherished but there is some diminution of responsibility towards them. These facts are illustrated by the different behaviour of first and second cousins which may sometimes be observed at weddings. In the quarrels which flare up on these 605
occasions between unrelated guests, there is always the danger 585
that fighting may become so violent and general that the wed- 579
ding festivities have to be abandoned; this is a great disgrace
for the family which is acting as host. It is noticeable that a bridegroom's first cousins feel it is their responsibility to prevent this both by the swiftness of their intervention, where their own kinship alignments allow this, and by the restraint they hold over their own feelings when they are themselves concerned in some incident. Second cousins on the other hand abandon themselves more easily to considerations of injured dignity and self-regard and, in the rush of blood to their heads, temporarily forget their duties to kinsmen.

Yet despite the general importance of kinship distance as a 612
measure of obligation and solidarity, a quality which is par- 605
ticularly characteristic of the kindred is its flexibility. If a man has interests in some part of the community where he can find only a second cousin, or an uncle who is a cousin of one of his

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4. EXPRESSIONS OF SOLIDARITY

619 612 [581] The Zagori community of Sarakatsani is geographically dispersed for reasons which are mainly ecological. Patrilocal marriage, suspicion of affines who live near the same village, yet the need for strategic alliances in other parts of Zagori, are factors which lead men to look for brides in a distant neighbourhood. Consequently the kindred of any individual tends to be more or less congruent with the boundaries of the community itself, in the sense that a shepherd generally has at least 527 a few relatives in any quarter of the Zagori. For these reasons the 612 few festive occasions during the year which bring distant kins- 571 men together are looked forward to with some anticipation. This is so not only for the utilitarian consideration that it is valuable to renew associations with kinsmen whose practical help may be required in the future, but simply for the company of people who value a man and return his affections. It is an aspect of the constant yearning for unity in a society which is, in [183] fact, fragmented by exclusive familial loyalties. It might be said that these occasions when kinsmen meet are important because in the atmosphere of festival excitement the sentiments of kin- 585 ship solidarity are strengthened and recreated. At weddings, for 527 example, quarrels almost always develop between unrelated 612 guests, and the kinsmen who rush to the aid of their own people [570] are giving a dramatized expression to the ideal of kinship solidarity. But, if it is true that the gathering of dispersed kinsfolk is an occasion for the restatement of kinship values, it is also true that it is the sentiment of kinship which invokes the gathering at all. Thus, although wedding invitations are sent out to all consanguineal and to a large number of affinal relatives, not all of the more distantly related of these persons will attend, and it is always recognized that whether or not an invited kinsman comes to the wedding is an indication of the effective solidarity, or absence of solidarity, between the invited man's family and the family of the groom or bride. Naturally the whole of the kinsman's family cannot attend a wedding together. The demands of shepherding prevent this. But one member at least is expected to go as a representative.

612 ● 574 A man, of course, may visit a kinsman at any time; in his huts he will always find shelter and hospitality for the night.

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But these visits are unlikely to be merely social and the main purpose of the journey is generally the arrangement of some business. At festivals, on the other hand, kinsmen meet to enjoy one another's company and other considerations are secondary. On the Tuesday after Easter Monday a man often sets off on a journey to a close kinsman living at a distance whom he has not seen during the winter. And after the feast of St. George before the migration to summer pastures there may be a wedding to attend. Later in the year when the Sarakatsani have moved up to the mountain villages of the Zagori there are other opportunities to meet less closely related kinsmen. About the end of July when the impregnated ewes gradually cease to yield milk, there is more leisure for the shepherds to attend the weddings, most of which occur in August and September. Also a number of the villages in the Zagori celebrate in the summer the feast-day of their patron saint. These village feasts (πανηγύρια) last for three days and nights during which there is almost continuous dancing in the village square with much eating and drinking besides. Many Sarakatsani go to these village festivals not only when it is the feast-day of the saint of their own summer village, but also to the celebrations of other villages where they have a kinsman. In the holiday atmosphere they are hospitably welcomed and their company and conversation give pleasure to their hosts. It makes no difference whether visitors are near or distant relatives; the more visitors a family entertains the more its prestige increases. But in addition to these public festivals each Sarakatsan family, or stani, celebrates privately one of the three summer religious festivals which they consider important. These are: the prophet Elias, 20th July, Saint Paraskeve, 26th July, and the Assumption of the All Holy One (The Virgin Mary), 15th August. On these feast-days meat is killed, wine is drunk, and in the larger stanis there is dancing. It is essentially a family celebration but kinsmen, who live in other villages and celebrate a different festival, will come to visit and share in the festivities. These are the various occasions which help to maintain a certain minimal frequency of contact between dispersed kinsmen, although the demands of the sheep prevent any individual shepherd from being present at more than one or perhaps two of these events each year.

But weddings are, undoubtedly, the most significant of these

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of origin of the marriage partners of his collateral kinsmen. There are also two quasi-affinal relationships which must be mentioned; that of co-bride (συννυφάδα), which is the link between a man's wife and the wife of his brother; and similarly that of co-bridegroom (μπατζανάκης), which describes the relationship of two men who are married to sisters.

The importance of the principle of parental obligation is once more apparent when we ask which are the significant affinal relationships. These are, in fact, the relationships between an individual and those affines who are, or will be, parents of the first cousins of his (or her) own children; more specifically relationships with the husbands or wives of siblings, and with the siblings of the individual's own marriage partner. Whatever a man's personal feelings may be, for the sake of his children he is almost compelled to co-operate with these affines. A brother tries hard to win the goodwill of his sister's husband. He is anxious that she should receive good treatment among the strangers to whom he and his family have given her. And it is noticeable that in the early years of marriage while the bride is still unsure of her position in the new family, her brothers often do more favours and good turns for the husband and his family than they receive in return.

But from the point of view of the husband, too, this is the critical affinal relation. So long as his dealings with the siblings and parents of his wife remain friendly his children are assured of adequate kinship support. In the early years of marriage, the nostalgia of the wife for her family of origin and her old home is not easily appeased. The physical separation of affines does not make visits to her parents very easy, and in any case, as we have seen, her husband and his brothers are not pleased if communication is too frequent. In practice, most young brides manage to visit their homes about twice a year. It is an accepted custom that young brides accompanied by their husbands set out on the Tuesday after Easter to visit the bride's home for five or six days. In the early years, these occasions may be something of an ordeal for the bridegroom. He must show a careful and studied respect towards his father-in-law and mother-in-law (πεθερός, πεθερά). Even with the brother or sister of his wife (κουνιάδος, κουνιάδα) he cannot relax, but must appear at all times severe and grave.

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For their part, the family of the bride both for her sake and the sake of her children try very hard to please the 'bridegroom'. 'The father-in-law must entertain the bridegroom and keep him content' (ὁ πεθερὸς πρέπει νὰ εὐχαριστήση καὶ φιλοξενήση τὸ γαμπρό), they say. When the bridegroom comes on a visit meat is always killed, an honour which is not automatically accorded to a blood kinsman however close. After the passage of some years and the establishment of the new family, relations between the husband and his wife's family of origin become less tense and formal, and if the bridegroom is an honourable man, his father and brothers-in-law may eventually trust him with some of their secrets. Yet even after the passage of years, close affinal relatives of the same generation must behave in a dignified and restrained manner in each other's presence. The easy familiarity between cousins of both sexes finds no parallel in the case of affinal relations. Affines do not laugh and joke together.

We need not discuss again the position of the bride in her husband's extended family of origin; something has already been said about this in chapter four. The brothers and sisters of the married pair may see one another from time to time. The husband, or a young unmarried brother of the husband, always escorts the wife when she goes to her home to see her parents, and one of the wife's brothers brings her back to her husband's home at the end of her visit. On these and other chance occasions, some at least of the members of the two families of origin come to know one another. But these relations never become easy and familiar. The link between co-parents-in-law (συμπέθεροι)[4] is formal. At the time of the marriage of their children, the fathers have already retired or are on the point of doing so, and since affines generally do not live in the same village, and the parents-in-law do not visit each other's homes, social contact between them is minimal.

In general, effective co-operation between affines does not usually occur beyond the limits of the two elementary families of origin of a married pair. The significance of affinal relations beyond this range is negative, that is to say a man avoids giving offence to or dealing deceitfully with such people. But even

[4] As we have seen, συμπέθερος is also used in a wider sense to mean affines in general.

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Theodoros

602 578 and his other brothers were able effectively to express their hostility towards the Balatsos group for their faithless behaviour. But Demetrios, because they were the family of his wife and the close maternal kin of his two young children, felt that in some way he must maintain these relations. For some months 602 578 593 this fact was a source of considerable annoyance to his brothers, who inside the family circle and in the absences of his wife ridiculed his attitude of compromise. Fortunately he is an easy-tempered man and accepted these rebukes in silence. But an element of strain was introduced into the relations of the brothers which in other families might have led to blows and the permanent severance of relations. A man must try to hold a balance between his attachment to his siblings which derives from the bonds of mutual identification in his family of origin and his relations of contractual co-operation with the kinsmen of his wife. This is not always easy.

602 [594] It is this 'balance', in relation to parents' categorical duties to their children, which leads to the emancipation of the elementary family from both the families of origin of the two [596] parents. In describing life in the extended family we saw how the control of the husband's family over his bride suddenly weakens after the birth of her first child; how the brothers of the husband no longer give the bride peremptory orders in his presence; how they must never interfere with her handling of her children and so on.

593 594 There is a corresponding degree of independence from any influence of the wife's family of origin; but in this instance it is established immediately on the day of marriage. When a bride goes to see her parents, she is not permitted for the four or five days of her visit to do any work. As an honoured guest she sits by the hearth, and to occupy her hands, while she gossips, she spins wool. But it must be her own wool especially transported in a small sack by her husband for this purpose. She is not permitted to spin her mother's wool even in a situation where the family is under pressure to finish the dowry of a younger sister.

593 606 Moreover, when a father or brother has given his daughter or sister in marriage, he is quite powerless to interfere directly if the husband maltreats her. Chronic wife-beating is rare, but where it does occur, the wife's family can only help her by

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and cares for her children. Her role is expressive in that she is a symbol of the mutual love and acceptance which bind the different members of the family to one another. The shepherd husband is often away from his home for days and nights, and if the weather is bad he spends much of this time soaked to the skin and shivering. In these depressing conditions he thinks and talks about little else than dry clothes, hot food, and the fire he will sit by when he returns to his hut. The hearth with its fire situated in the centre of the circular hut and tended by the wife or mother is, in fact and in symbol, the centre of Sarakatsan family life; it gives physical warmth and protection against the spiritual forces of evil. The husband is dependent on his wife for the simple but to him very important attentions which he associates with its light and warmth. In return he seldom interferes in what concerns the work and duties of his wife. In a contingent sense, she is independent in her own sphere of action.

But, ultimately, the authority of the husband over the wife is absolute. A wife must show respect (σεβασμός) to her husband before strangers at all times. If they have to walk together in the village or the town, the wife follows some two or three yards behind him. When visitors are entertained in her hut, the wife never sits and eats with her husband and the guests, but stands erect and motionless ready to attend to the needs of the squatting men. Even in the extended family household husband and wife do not eat together. The men eat first, the women of the household afterwards. No portion of a cooked dish (προσφάι) is set aside for the women, who must satisfy themselves with whatever is left by the men; this is often very little. The act of eating together implies sharing equally in what is placed upon the one common dish from which the Sarakatsani customarily eat. It indicates in that particular context, a certain equality between those who partake. Only sometimes in the intimacy of the elementary family may the husband, wife, and children sit and eat together. For in this most private situation, the relationship of mutual identification between the members of the elementary family makes them, for that moment, equals in the communion of their common meal.

Indeed, there is a marked difference between the public and private behaviour of a man and his wife towards each other.

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Although the individual family receives from the local gathering of Sarakatsani no practical support in its difficulties with the villagers, there may be expressions of moral support. In the coffee-shop where the Sarakatsan heads of family gather to drink, play cards, argue, and discuss the village news, a man who has had a quarrel with a villager, or difficulties with the village council, will be asked what happened. He may not tell his audience all the facts, or the truth, but he will tell them something of the matter, careful always to present his own actions and arguments so that they appear honourable and vigorous. The villagers in the case he will condemn as unjust, cowardly, and as men who do not love honour. Such a recital is a formal statement of the moral solidarity of the whole Sarakatsan community against those who molest it and its way of life. Every Sarakatsanos present supports without reservation the condemnation of villagers. 'Eh, what a "poustis"[1] that man is.' They all agree. Many, of course, will have unspoken reservations as to the part played by the narrator. Yet in regard to the actions of the villagers in the dispute, the solidarity of feeling is complete. Often at the end of the discussion, just as a hymn sometimes closes a religious service, somebody will start to sing a wild klephtic ballad in which the whole assembly join their voices.

Parallel to this conflict of interests and values is the social exclusiveness practised by each community towards the other. Sarakatsani do not generally invite villagers to their homes at weddings or festivals unless they are patrons or the godparents of their children. Nor do the villagers receive the Sarakatsani in their houses unless there is some particular relationship. At the festival of the village patron Saint, the reluctance of the master of ceremonies to allow shepherds to lead the traditional ring dance may be interpreted by the Sarakatsani as an attempt to humiliate them publicly. Each year it provokes in some villages violent incidents. In this context men forget the absence of relationship and stand together with the help of visiting kinsmen from other villages in defence of the honour of the whole Sarakatsan community against the villagers of Zagori who attempt to ridicule and belittle their way of life.

[1] A πούστης is the passive partner in a homosexual relationship.

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own, but four children to provide for. As soon as people begin to calculate in this manner, the inadequacy of his personal wealth emerges, and to some extent his prestige falls. Men with no brothers who are forced to join the 'company' of a cousin or an affine gain some prestige and cover from the size of the co-operating group of which they form a part, but the size of their own flock is always very precisely appreciated by outsiders. The worst situation is that of the family head with only a few animals who is forced to become a wage shepherd to an unrelated man, since in this case poverty associated with dependence on a stranger destroys prestige.

Taken together, numbers and wealth are the necessary material foundation for high family prestige. They imply the independence of the family within the community, both economically in the sense that the group is viable (and possibly free of debt), and technically in that it has enough manpower to manage its flocks unaided. It suggests that the family will possess powerful patrons outside the community and that in the competition for winter pastures it will be in a better position to rent grazing land. A village generally prefers to let an area of reasonable size, and to negotiate with a prosperous group able to provide a steady and profitable flow of bribes and presents.

Also, it is the family of wealth and numbers, with powerful patrons and sufficient winter grazing, that draws to itself a number of less fortunate kinsmen. The dependence and support of these men make the protecting family the nucleus of a co-operative association, extending yet further its strength, influence, and prestige. It attracts many passing visits from other kinsmen. Men do not often visit kinsmen of low prestige, since such association only draws attention to a relationship which is best forgotten: on the other hand, they take every opportunity to pay a call on a kinsman of position and repute, to cultivate a relationship that is a source of possible support in future misfortune and, of itself, brings a measure of vicarious prestige.

Men like Pistiolis, who are at the lowest level of the community hierarchy of prestige, seldom receive a visitor from one year's end to another. Indeed, the number of visitors that a family receives is generally a reliable index of its reputation. It is

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always known in the neighbourhood when a family has had guests (μουσαφίρηδες); their quality, relationship, and the possible reasons for their visit are debated in detail by the other families. Comment is often caustic, but the very interest which is aroused is a recognition of the importance of the event. If a family of numbers and wealth entertains a patron from the town, this is a triumph which it enjoys to the full. Meat is killed and wine is bought. Largesse is demanded of the family which entertains many guests. And in some mysterious way neighbouring families discover the measure of generosity, or meanness, which a host has shown to his visitors; and criticism, encouraged by envy, will not spare him. In hospitality (φιλοξενία), a virtue in which the Sarakatsani believe they are naturally pre-eminent, there is always a strong element of competition.

(c) LINEAGE[1]

Νταμάρι, lineage, refers to the quality of the kindred relationships which a man inherits from both his father and mother; and the importance of this for prestige has already been discussed in chapter three. If he possesses the surname of one of the leading families, or is directly descended, preferably in the male line, from a famous tselingas of the last century, this also is a significant element in a man's reputation. It might appear to indicate that for the highest and the lowest families, at least, reputation of lineage is patrilineally inherited. There is, indeed, a bias in favour of relationships traced through the father (particularly agnatic relationships) in the evaluation of νταμάρι in all families, and this is certainly accentuated at either extreme of the hierarchy of prestige, where certain family names are associated with the idea of high or low reputation, but the inheritance of νταμάρι remains fundamentally bilateral. In general, as we shall see in a discussion of marriage, men are careful to marry their sons or daughters into families of equal reputation. Where a member of a leading family takes a bride of markedly lower lineage, the community withdraws from the new family the recognition of the prestige associated with the husband's surname by the simple procedure of refusing to call

[1] Lineage, here, does not, of course, refer to a unilineal descent group but to the quality of pedigree through all lines of descent.

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sexuality, so the virginity of Christ suppresses in His person this fundamental division of humanity.

But men are also divided from God and from one another by their mutual envy. This disunion is a more subtle form of corruption which few men attempt or are able to resist. It requires the sacrifice of Christ's blood to redeem this condition and to establish, even briefly, the ideal of the brotherhood of men that makes possible a full communion between man and God. That in their own social experience only an unmarried brother would make this sacrifice of life and blood confirms in the minds of the Sarakatsani the role of Christ as the archetypal brother, in a transcendent sibling relationship where only identification, and never rivalry, finds a place.

The idea of Christ's brotherhood implies, at least, the brotherhood of the Sarakatsani of Zagori, and by extension (though less certainly) the brotherhood of Orthodox Greeks. Christ sacrificed Himself not for one but for all. Not the least miracle of Easter is the measure of social goodwill. There is an easy warmth of greeting and attitude between unrelated men which is entirely foreign to the tense aggressiveness that is the formal idiom of social life at other times. On Easter Monday each family visits, and is visited by, all the Sarakatsan families who live within easy walking distance, whether they are kinsmen or not. Except at the summer festival celebrated by each family (very often the feast of the Assumption) this is probably the only occasion during the year that a man penetrates into the home and receives the hospitality of another unrelated shepherd. On the Saturday of Easter instead of delivering their milk to the cheese merchant the Sarakatsani give it away to villagers or the poorer families of their own community. These simple gestures that might be unexceptional in other communities are an impressive reversal of normal attitudes. The union of men in Christ is reflected at the level of social relations in an expression of ideal solidarity which for a moment breaks down the barriers which isolate family from family and community from community. At other times, the notion that all the ills of the world derive from the view that every man is concerned only for his own family is constantly asserted, and as often deplored. There is always a yearning for unity and goodwill in the community, but it is a yearning accompanied by the knowledge that it can never be.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

Although the individual family receives from the local gathering of Sarakatsani no practical support in its difficulties with the villagers, there may be expressions of moral support. In the coffee-shop where the Sarakatsan heads of family gather to drink, play cards, argue, and discuss the village news, a man who has had a quarrel with a villager, or difficulties with the village council, will be asked what happened. He may not tell his audience all the facts, or the truth, but he will tell them something of the matter, careful always to present his own actions and arguments so that they appear honourable and vigorous. The villagers in the case he will condemn as unjust, cowardly, and as men who do not love honour. Such a recital is a formal statement of the moral solidarity of the whole Sarakatsan community against those who molest it and its way of life. Every Sarakatsanos present supports without reservation the condemnation of villagers. 'Eh, what a "poustis"[1] that man is.' They all agree. Many, of course, will have unspoken reservations as to the part played by the narrator. Yet in regard to the actions of the villagers in the dispute, the solidarity of feeling is complete. Often at the end of the discussion, just as a hymn sometimes closes a religious service, somebody will start to sing a wild klephtic ballad in which the whole assembly join their voices.

Parallel to this conflict of interests and values is the social exclusiveness practised by each community towards the other. Sarakatsani do not generally invite villagers to their homes at weddings or festivals unless they are patrons or the godparents of their children. Nor do the villagers receive the Sarakatsani in their houses unless there is some particular relationship. At the festival of the village patron Saint, the reluctance of the master of ceremonies to allow shepherds to lead the traditional ring dance may be interpreted by the Sarakatsani as an attempt to humiliate them publicly. Each year it provokes in some villages violent incidents. In this context men forget the absence of relationship and stand together with the help of visiting kinsmen from other villages in defence of the honour of the whole Sarakatsan community against the villagers of Zagori who attempt to ridicule and belittle their way of life.

[1] A πούστης is the passive partner in a homosexual relationship.

/97 cont./

352 353 The cradle is customarily placed at the back of the hut to the left.

On the interior walls of the hut and near the entrance are fastened short forks of wood upon which hung clothes, bags, etc. are hung.

(343) The small huts are often used as outbuildings (as storehouses, /98/ for instance). They are then provided with "beds" to hold blankets and food provisions in reserve.

343 342 233 Others are used as shelters for the shepherds who do not go far away from the flocks. During the cold nights of winter a fire is lighted there, directly on the earth and beside the entrance.

343 352 With respect to the "fretzato" abutting the hut, as well as for the "photogoni" that serves as outdoor kitchen, there is nothing to add, except that the former, which is fitted out with "beds," also serves as storehouses.

343 (574) The "tsardhaki," free-standing or integrated into a fretzato, functions as reception room for visitors. Moreover, the members of the family sit and even lie down there, comfortably sheltered from the sun during the summer.

(571) Generally speaking, it is the kitchen, the supplies and the space intended for the reception of visitors which "move outdoors," following a general practice widespread throughout several parts of the world. (22)

22. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: Milieu et Technique, p. 286.

The animal shelters protect the flocks from bad weather and from wolves.

Clothing--Blankets--Rugs.

121 The study of clothing, blankets and rugs shows us, on the one hand, how the Sarakatsani succeed in meeting the needs corresponding to these objects; on the other hand, it introduces us to their aesthetics.

(128) Inasmuch as we intend to devote a chapter of the present work to

/109 cont./

252 prepared in the same way as the preceding. This bread appears on the
[262] tables /110/ of the Sarakatsani women only on special occasions
[574] (the arrival of a visitor, holidays, weddings, etc.).
[527]

252 Culinary art: Here again it is necessary to distinguish between
262 a number of cooked foods, on the one hand, and pastries on the other, which /together/ make up the basis of the diet of the Sarakatsani.

[128] However, preliminary to the description of the different
[234] Sarakatsani "dishes" it is suitable to begin with the method of preparing of cheese since cheese and butter make up the main ingredients of most foods.

234 We know that the milk produced is sold in bulk to a contractor
252 who transforms it into butter and cheese. This system is not practiced
433 either in the course of the seasonal migrations--the contractor not
221 being a nomad who follows the caravan--or, with better reason, in the course of the first summer months when the milk production decreases rapidly from day to day until it is near zero, so that the presence of the contractor unnecessary. It is during these two periods that the milk is made into cheese by the Sarakatsani themselves, to take care of their own needs. This is how they go about it:

234 The milk, at milking temperature of perhaps slightly heated
252

[412] ←

[415] →

Fig. 92

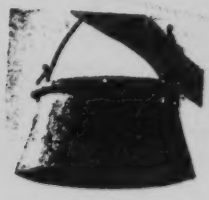

Fig. 91

/114 cont./

252 262 In order to conclude the inventory, it is necessary also to speak of the grasses and vegetables that the Sarakatsani use. The first are made up chiefly of dandelions and other edible wild plants gathered in the countryside, either to be cooked in water for a salad or to be used in making pastries (caucalide, (25) aromatic chervil

25. Condulocarpus apulus.

parella [a type of lichen], wild leek, etc.)

Among the second belong the beans, broad beans, lentils and, recently, potatoes and rice; however, their preparation does not present any peculiarity that need be reported here.

262 Meat, finally, does not make up any of the dishes that we have described. This is because meat constitutes altogether unusual food. (26)

26. Thurnwald: Economic Primitive, p. 121, says that pastoral peoples only exceptionally kill animals for their meat. Livestock is capital on the income of which the people live.

In fact, the herders do not readily "sacrifice" their livestock for their food. However, it is customary that for Christmas, Easter, [521] St. George, St. Demetrius, each one's personal feast day and each time [574] hospitality is called for (whoever the visitor may be), they kill a lamb and roast it on the spit. In all these instances the killing of the lamb takes on a ritual significance which justifies the "sacrifice."

It should be noted that this description of the Sarakatsani cuisine is a faithful account of the diet common among them.

/115/ --The cooking of foods

372 [252] The Sarakatsani practice several methods of cooking, which presuppose a method of lighting fire. This method consists of an oblique striking impact: a flint is struck with an iron hammer; the sparks which are produced ignite a piece of tinder (fig. 96). Then the fire is transferred to /Fig. 96 appears here/ dry grass of brush lying on the hearth (fig. 64). In order to stir up the fire they have recourse to a

/Fig. 64 appears on p.92--Analyst/

/132 cont./

584 been reached.

584 The father of the future husband then visits the father of the
574 future wife. And there, while confirming the agreement, he may send for
431 his future daughter-in-law and give her a gold piece or a jewel. For her part, the young girl must offer him, as well as the persons who may be accompaning him, which never include the suitor, table napkins and handkerchiefs woven with her own hands. (13) That is all. From this
584 moment on, the betrothal is completed. However, no contact between the

13. These gifts are not the only ones that one may find among the Sarakatsani in connection with marriages and betrothals. However, we shall not emphasize this point since we have devoted a special work to them in which we discuss them in detail.

betrothed /pair/ is permitted. And it often happens that the future spouses meet and see each other for the first time during the celebration of the marriage.

* * * *

584 The first thing that becomes apparent from this entire betrothal
581 procedure is the fact that the future spouses are regarded by their families as subjects belonging completely to society. (14)

14. On the notion of the socialization of sexuality: R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse, p.233.

Their lives do not belong to them. It is the father of the family who disposes of them as he sees fit in accordance with the conceptions prevailing in his own surroundings. Consequently, they will be married according to what suits the family community and not according to their personal wishes.

Now, the interest of the two families which forms the basis of the choice of future spouses lies in concluding alliances that will permit a reciprocity of collaboration and a strong solidarity guaranteed by the indissolubility of the matrimonial bond.

/141 cont./

848 842 [833] [602] We believe that the true justification for this suppression resides in the necessity of controlling conception and hence the legitimacy of a birth. It is for this reason that the sexual act must be performed in the midst of the family.

852 574 [431] Thirdly and finally, three days after the birth, the father receives his friends and his relatives to celebrate the first bath of the newborn child. While everyone brings small gift, he for his part must "sacrifice" a lamb and prepare it on the spit for his visitors.

851 852 848 182 This small celebration has for its object chiefly the presentation of the newborn child to the society to which its father belongs and which in turn adopts it. At the same time it constitutes for the father the occasion to announce, albeit implicitly and indirectly, the legitimacy of his child. If he did not consider it his own, why would he celebrate its birth?

848 602 /142/ In all that has gone before there is nothing that ought to surprise us: When we know that the foundation of Sarakatsani society rests on the family as such, and that this family in turn is founded on blood kinship, on kinship on the father's side above all, we can easily understand that the legitimacy of descent merits altogether special attention.

If the offspring is not legitimate there is no reason why he should be integrated into the society. There is no reason why he should enjoy all the privileges that kinship brings him--assistance on the part of other members, economic cooperation, solidarity, security.

[613] Conversely, it is impossible for him to obtain for others what a true kinsman is able to give them, that is to say, an alliance with his lineage, since he does not have one.

848 578 602 Consequently, any dispute about legitimacy must be excluded in advance. That is because it could bring about an unsettling of kinship bonds and provoke a veritable dislocation of the system of social relationships as we have described them in the preceding pages. In other words,

/179 cont./

He is seldom personally involved in herding, and carries a staff much shorter than that of the other shepherds, a staff /180/ which is also a sign of his rank. Moreover, he is the only one who has a saddle horse.

His dress is more elaborate than that of his men and his hut is always situated in the center of the encampment and built on the highest point.

Generally, his hut has a fretzato (circular enclosure adjoining the hut and forming a court) in which he receives visitors and where the negotiations with merchants take place.

It is he who offers hospitality, not forgetting, however, to write down the expenditures as part of the general cost of the business.

Nothing happens in the Tséligato that he is not advised of. However, his authority never gives him the right to interfere in questions concerning the private lives of the participants.

In the course of performing his functions, the Tséligas may, if he wishes, consult the other men of the Tséligato. Yet this almost never happens. There is only one situation in which he needs the opinion of the experienced shepherds; he inquires of them about the quality of the grass of different pastures meant for the various categories of livestock.

We see by this that the only case in which the opinion of the subjects of the Tséligas might be expressed is in an essentially technical, and not in an administrative matter.

This exception is very characteristic of the status and prestige of the Tséligas who must, above all, act with justice, objectivity, generosity, and prudence. Respected by all, he insures order and peace.

If one or another of the participants shows himself to be undesirable the Tséligas can turn him out before the expiration of his contract, but after the mutual obligations have been settled.

/238 cont./
elders, the opposite sex and strangers. Let us recall in this connection that the separation of the sexes is still manifest in the custom that requires men and women to dance separately at festivals.

As for the "community," everyone must consider that his life belongs to the service of others, hence the obligation of solidarity and cooperation on all levels. Conversely and consequently, distrust of non-Sarakatsani is obligatory, though the rules of hospitality are not violated.

As far as tradition is concerned, there is nothing to add to what has been said up to now. Finally, with respect to courage and bravery, indispensable qualities for people whose hard life is carried on in isolation, it is necessary to point out that this subject is also bound up with patriotism. At the birth of each boy it is customary for relatives and friends to wish the parents of the newborn child: "That he will one day become a resistance fighter /maquisard/ and the head of a band." (3)

3. Reported by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p.57.

This wish has a definite meaning: it expressed the desire that the newborn child, once he becomes an adult, will participate actively in revolts against the Turks and that he will even distinguish himself as chief of the rebels. However, because of the fact that some Sarakatsani have practiced brigandage the impression arose that this aspiration tended to lean to banditry. In /239/ this impression, obviously erroneous, one might recognize the phenomenon of an "out group" /cited in English/; (4)

4. See W.G. Sumner: Folkways, A study of the sociological importance of usages, manners, customs, mores and morals /cited in English/, 1906.--T. Newcomb: Social Psychology /cited in English/, London, 1955.

the surrounding society is always ready to accuse the Sarakatsani of acts it disapproves. (5) If some of them have actually practiced brigandage, we

/255 cont./

843 and the embryo. The knots are very eloquent from this point of view.
789 And the "Mary's" in the mystical number of "three" represent another
[801] expression of the univeral-mother, in Christianized form, whose presence in this rite is particularly appropriate.

Nevertheless, the ideal fertility sought is that which will end in the birth of boys. That is why, when the bride, having arrived in front of the dwelling of her husband, dismounts from her horse, a boy whose parents are living mounts into the saddle and takes her place. Likewise, a small boy is put on the bride's lap. Thus, the young woman will give birth
[352] to boys. On the other hand, the young couple are forbidden to sit on the
[831] three-legged stool of the hearth, for its shape symbolizes the female sexual organ and it can bring them only girls, In these two cases, as in the preceding ones, it is no longer forces but other influences that work toward the desired result.

233 In order to promote the fertility of livestock, the Sarakatsani follow
825 /256/ procedures which are different from those already described, but
789 whose content points to the same beliefs. In this instance the procedures seek to promote the birth of females--the foundations of wealth and
[527] family prosperity. On Christmas day a young girl whose two parents are living makes the rounds of the huts of the Tséligato. Before each door she stops and speaks these words to the inhabitants who await for her to pass: "Good day. I wish you a long life. May the next year bring the
[514] birth of many ewes." The women of the family offer her sweets. When she leaves, the wives of the shepherds fill their tubs at a nearby spring and throw cheese and butter into it.

527 On New Year's day the first person to enter a Sarakatsani hut must be
233 a young girl who has two living parents and who holds in her hand holly
825 and <u>feliki</u>--the favorite food of goats and ewes. Once inside the hut, she
789 must sit down on the ground beside the hearth and toss her bouquet into the fire, which starts to crackle from the heat. Then the young girl,

/256 cont./

527 solemnly and in a high voice, speaks these words: "May ewes and goats
233 be born." She is offered cakes and extended wishes for a long life
825 and happiness. According to Madame Hadjimichali, the women can predict
789 from the crackling of the fire whether the year ahead will be fruitful or
[574] [787] or disastrous.

[796] The first day of the Orthodox Advent (40 days before Christmas) a long tree trunk is put in the hearth and allowed to burn for a while. Then it is extinguished and put to one side. This procedure is invariably repeated each morning. On Christmas morning the oldest woman of the family lights what is left and carries it lighted to the stroungha (Fig. 73) A/A where she buries it at the entrance where the animals pass. (24)

[114] 24. A practice reported by Madame Hadjimichali (ibid., p. 8v') but that we ourselves have not encountered.

527 On New Year's day, according to our own observations (on Christmas day
233 according to those of Madame Hadjimichali), (25)
825
789
262
531
[114] 25. Ibid., A. II, pp. 346-350. This difference in the data is not surprising since the Sarakatsani groups are numerous and variations of customs are inevitable as a result of acculturation. It is to be noted that the non-Sarakatsani population make a pastry on New Year's day. It is possible that the statements of Madame Hadjimichali report a state of affairs before our own investigation. In this connection we wish to emphasize that Madame Hadjimichali gives a very fine description of the cakes in question, with superb drawings.

each mother of a family prepares a pastry decorated with motifs in relief, which represent /257/ a stroungha with sheep, imprints of horseshoes, a dog, shepherd reeds, distaffs, vipers and last of all scorpions. The whole is an evocation of the economic life of the Sarakatsani, the stroungha,

A/A, /See p.100--Analyst/

/263 cont./

777 Thursday is moreover considered /264/ as a propitious day for a certain
236 number of practices that will be dealt with in the chapter devoted to religion. (39)

39. Carsten Höeg, in the work cited, says about shearing (p. 14-15): "I have sought with much interest to discover whether this act...gave rise to ceremonies or demanded precautions, giving evidence of more of less conscious superstitious ideas. But I have seen absolutely nothing that could be interpreted in this sense." This admission of the Danish ethnographer, surprising though it is, shows the difficulties that the explorer of Sarakatsani life must overcome at every turn.

[574] Moreover, during the shearing, it is necessary to avoid the visit of any
777 person who brings ill luck. (40) As for the seasonal migration, it must
221

40. On the influence of a visitor on destiny see pp. 289-290, footnote 31.

not begin on Tuesday, Friday or Sunday. (41)

41. See above, the notes on the days indicated for conception and the comments about them, pp. 283-285.

The Well-Being of Men and of Animals

784 All the magic procedures examined thus far certainly contribute to
776 the well-being of men and animals. However, men and animals are exposed
754 to threats from different sources: supernatural beings, illnesses, male-
[789] volent human acts and influences (evil eye, black magic)--so many sub-topics which will be set forth in this section.

* * * *

776 The realm of feared spirits is filled with demons, fairies, moires, and finally ogres. Each of these has its characteristics and exerts a particular influence which determines the specific manner in which one should defend oneself against its activity.

Demons belong to several categories. Certain ones, of whom the

/270 cont./

000 burned bit of the father's cloak. The first excrements of the newborn
75 child are kept and transformed into an amulet. An amulet meant always
789 to protect the child is made from the excrements of a dog.
[237]

All these measures put the child in contact with the mysterious
[825] forces that dwell in the body of the mother and the father and that have given it life, or with the warding-off properties of the dog /271/ (a being capable of forcing back the evil spirits) (61).

[191] 61. The beliefs pertaining to the caul and the dog also existed in the Byzantine epoch. See Ἰω. ΤΖΕΤΖΗ : Σχόλια ... νους 80 et 97.

--Moreover, everthing dealing with the woman in childbirth, her excrements, her clothing, transmit vitality. The physician ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ἐκ ΤΡΑΛΛΕΩΝ I, 437, says that sick people gave their shirts to a parturient to wear; after her confinement they got them back and put them on again in order to be restored to health. On blood, the source of life, see

Ἰακώβου τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ : Ἀναπλάσεις καὶ Τάξις ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀβρ. M. P. G. 88.

[372] The regenerative fire represented by the ashes also must not be forgotten though the role of the latter is not limited to this.

844 In general, visits to the woman in childbirth and to the child are
974 forbidden. Those who enter may bring evil spirits with them. That is why
789 one hangs on the door of the hut a tuft of red wool--this color having
[822] warding-off properties; (62)

[362] 62. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 203. Colors are treated as powers
[191] ...Red, for example, is the only color everywhere used to paint the body (Grosse: Die Aufange /sic/ /should read: Anfange/ der Kunst, 58 f.). In popular beliefs red is a color that protects against evils and the evil eye:

Ἰω. ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ M. P. G. 61, 186 et comment. — Ἀπόστ. ἐκ Συ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΟΥ : Ὁ Ἰωάννης Χρυσόστομος ὡς Λαογράφος, p. 624. — Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Ibid., p. 620 et suiv. — Β. ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗΣ : Τὸ φυτὸ τῆς Θράκης, p. 50-60, etc.

/271 cont./
844 574 784 [783] likewise, burning charcoal is placed upon the threshold and, from time to time, grains of incense are tossed upon it. All who enter are subjected to purifying fumigation. The same desire to keep away "evils," causes /the Sarakatsani/ to throw into the hearth an old shoe or a piece of coarsely woven wool which give off malodorous fumes.

846 783 789 [788] [842] Forty days after the birth, mother and child, soiled by the childbirth, must submit to purification. The hut is thoroughly cleaned, the mother and child carefully bathed. Then both betake themselves to the nearest Church where the priest, in accordance with the Orthodox rite, blesses them (in commemoration of the presentation of the Lord to the temple, according to old Hebraic customs which recall the universal taboos of birth). A boy accompanies them so that other boys will be born into the family.

751 789 [527] The health of boys is likewise ensured by another method. On Easter Sunday at dawn each head of a family kills the paschal lamb which will then be roasted on the spit. The moment the blood runs, he wets his fingers with it and draws a cross on the forehead of boys "so that they do not become anemic." (63)

63. According to the explanation of Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. ρμζ'.

The amulets, too, afford a protection against evils, and that in a lasting fashion. We have given some particulars concerning their composition, which varies/272/ greatly and constitues a veritable breviary of all the Sarakatsani magic beliefs. On an amulet necklace worn by a child [237] (see figure 101) we found: a miniature of the Gospel which is sold at all the village fairs; a blue ball on which was fastened a small cross; a cross of mastic; a small bag filled with /Figure 101 appears here/ salt and incense; a medal struck with the image of the Virgin; a coin; a bag containing a wing bone of a bat; a ball of amber; a cowrie /porcelain/ (shell of Venus); finally, the weight from a fairy's spindle, carved in gabbro.

/331 cont./

796 494 554 [488] [252] the entrance of the hut. After that he kindles the fire and puts the lamb on the spit; he personally oversees the cooking of it. The women do not interfere in it. Thereupon everybody feasts.

[596] /332/ All this has an unquestionably ceremonial and sacrificial character; this time the protagonist is a man, the head of the family or the Tséligas.

796 [776] [494] [554] [574] [782] Variations of the same ritual are repeated during the festivals of St. Demetrius and St. George, both (especially the first), considered protectors of the Sarakatsani. They are also carried out on the occasion of the personal anniversary of the Tséligas, when a stranger calls in the konakia and is offered hospitality, and finally for the votive festival of the stani, the group formed around the business, that is to say, the Tséligato.

796 782 494 596 776 [554] This last point requires a more detailed explanation. Many Tséligatos are "dedicated" to a saint. Sometimes, in case of necessity, out of confusion or despair, certain Tséligas implore the help of a saint by promising to offer, on the day of his anniversary and in perpetuity, at a church or a monastery dedicated to him, money, incense, candles, lambs, etc. Very often, a small flock is formed, the profit from which "is consecrated to the saints." This promise is scrupulously kept and is obligatory for the descendants of the one who made the vow. Of course, the festival of the stani is celebrated on the day of its patron saint's anniversary.

796 755 782 [252] [262] In case of serious illness it is customary to summon the priest, to read the prayers for the sick, and to celebrate a mass in a monastery or a church. Then, with the customary offerings (bread, wine, oil, incense, candles, etc.), the Sarakatsani bring a lamb which they attach to the door of the church during the service and which is killed and roasted on the spit afterwards, like a sacrifice. The meat is distributed among all

/333 cont./

782 very lovely song that tells how, in order to achieve solid foundations
171 for the bridge of Arta, the master mason found himself obliged to immure his beloved wife!

574 Finally, the offering of the lamb to the visitor (unknown and as
571 such considered dangerous by the Sarakatsani--as the analysis of
182 matrimonial customs has sufficiently demonstrated) aims to establish
431 with him relations of exchange which will obligate him to develop social
782 relations of cooperation, hence peaceful relations, with the hosts.

Taking our inspiration from G. Van der Leeuw (6)

6. See La religion, pp. 342-349.

whose reflections are guided by the ideas of Mauss (7)

7. See H. Hubert and M. Mauss: Le Sacrifice, p. 124 f.

and Malinowski, (8) we could say with him that in the sacrifice one must

8. See Br. Malinowski: Argonautes.

see "the circulation of power". It is not a rationalistic do ut des /I give so that you may give/, but a do ut possis dare," I give you power so that you may have it," and that therefore life may not be hampered, paralyzed for lack of power.

We are not unaware that this thesis presupposes two ideas: that of the circulation of "potentials" and furthermore that of the /334/ archaic significance of the gift, (9)

9. See M. Mauss: Essai sur le Don /Essay on the gift/, Conclusion.

the existence of which among the Sarakatsani has not been shown. Of course, the transmissibility of qualities is a form of circulation. And the gift to the potentially dangerous visitor might remind us of the "potlatch," /cited in English/ the kula, etc. However, we are not brought to a scientific conviction that the two ideas in question underlie transmissibility nor hospitality as they appear among the Sarakatsani.